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9 The Peacekeeping Warrior

A Theoretical Model

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WHO is the happy Warrior? Who is he
What every man in arms should wish to be?
.....
Whose high endeavours are an inward light
That makes the path before him always bright
William Wordsworth (1770-1850)

Introduction[1]

The warriors still exist but one can hardly say that their path is still as bright as Wordsworth described it. The military role has changed over time as well as through situations. Recent history shows that after both World Wars and the end of the Cold War the military role shifted from warrior to peacekeeper. During the Cold War there were about 13,000 uniformed peacekeepers, in 1993 this number had already mounted to 78,500 peacekeepers. Now, in 2009 there are 117 countries and 93,481 uniformed peacekeepers deployed (United Nations, 2009). In an early description of peacekeeping, the United Nation's basic assumptions underline the differences between the warrior and the peacekeeper by ordering peacekeeping soldiers to remain impartial towards all parties involved and to use force only as self-defence or to defend the mission progress (Findlay, 1996). Peacekeeping involves tasks such as assisting and helping the local population, reconstruction, restoring local government, policing and training army and police.
With the start of the American 'Global War on Terror', the American Chief of Staff General Peter Schoomaker stipulated that to face the new complex operational situation, every soldier should be a warrior first (Kirkton, 2005). He[2] should be trained and proficient in his warrior tasks and drills, ready to deploy, engage and destroy the enemies (Soldiers Creed, 2007). Although the description of the two roles seems, at least partially, to exclude each other, contemporary missions show the need for both 'warriors' and 'peacekeepers' in order to achieve success. Of course military operations always entail various kinds of roles but what if some of the roles are contradictory or possibly even exclude each other? How does a soldier fight the enemy as a warrior and protect the local population as a peacekeeper,

1 The authors would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their comments. The final result remains the sole responsibility of the authors.
2 In this text 'he' can also be read as 'she'.

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especially when some of the people who are to be helped and protected, turn without warning into enemy fighters? Can a soldier put down his modern 'armour', in both a factual and psychological sense?

Scientific literature shows that until the end of the Second World War the interest of scholars mainly concerned war and not the warrior. Combat motivation was nothing more than duty, patriotism, leadership and character; combat breakdown was, although a large-scale problem in both World Wars, simply a lack of them (Wessely, 2006). It was not until the aftermath of the Vietnam War, that researchers started paying attention to the warrior himself. Although at first their interest focussed on mental disorders caused by combat, researchers quickly broadened the scope of their research. Personality-related predispositions, required personality traits, psychological and sociological factors of warfare are now frequently researched. With the increase of peacekeeping operations, an explosion of research can be observed about the soldier as peacekeeper. Studies concern among others the willingness of soldiers to participate (Miller, 1997), the specific stressors they encounter (Bartone & Adler, 1996; Bartone, 2006), and the psychological demands of peacekeeping operations (Litz, 1996).

The ability of soldiers to execute the associated operational roles, or how different roles relate, has received hardly any scientific attention. Military practice, although recognising the different warrior and peacekeeper roles, does not question the ability of soldiers to execute both roles successively or even simultaneously (Blackstone, 2005; Broesder, 2008; Jamison Yi, 2004). No literature was found to specify or explain soldier's abilities to switch from one role to the other. Because of this lack of knowledge, it is our aim to develop a theoretical model that will situate the so-called 'peacekeeping warrior' in the context of military operations. A model that will demonstrate the consequences of executing tasks that are the opposite of the role a soldier identifies with. Although we label the roles 'warrior' and 'peacekeeper', this study will also enlighten the military performing policing tasks or police performing their tasks in operations abroad.

This chapter starts by describing the theoretical background, more specifically the role theory. Next, the components of the Warrior-Peacekeeper Model are elaborated. This model explains the interaction between a soldier's role-identification and the tasks he executes during deployment, and the consequences of this interaction. Finally, it is discussed how the Warrior-Peacekeeper Model can be of importance to further investigate these two roles, their combination and effects on military performance.

9.1 Roles, Theory and Research

Role theory offers an important starting point for understanding the consequences of executing different roles. A role can be described as a set of expected behavioural patterns attributed to someone occupying a given position in a social unit (Robbins, 1991, p. 283). Roles specify what goals should be pursued, what tasks must be accomplished and which behaviour is required in a given situation

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(Biddle, 1979, p.8). A person who chooses to be a soldier has some conception of what is expected of him. A role does not only give direction to behaviour, it also requires certain attitudes. A policeman has to agree to carry and use weapons, he must be willing to help people in need, and not be afraid. Finally, a role influences an individual's personality (Katz & Kahn, 1978). A soldier who is confronted with the hardship of others during missions, may become less sensitive to relatively small problems at home.

Role theory clarifies how role strain and role conflicts occur when roles change, are incompatible, or do not correspond to one's expectations (Kleber & Winnubst, 1983). Although Wippler (1983) concludes that role theory hardly contributes as an explanatory theory, the role concept is one of the most compelling theories bridging individual behaviour and social structure. Role theorists argue that the role theory in particular makes it possible to demonstrate role-combination problems by focusing on the different ways roles can collide. As has been said, roles are the result of expectations that others have of the focal person who occupies the role. However, individuals have many roles at the same time or several 'others' may be expressing different opinions about the same job. These situations can create role conflicts. Katz and Kahn (1978) distinguish four kinds of role conflict.

Intrasender conflict refers to incompatible expectations held by a given person who is important for the execution of the role by the focal person. E.g. a policeman's commander may expect him to be 'on the street', but also do administrative work. This may create a conflict about priorities. Intersender conflicts refer to different persons expecting different behaviours from the focal person. E.g. the battalion commander may expect the company commander to be loyal to the organisation and to leadership, whereas the subordinates expect their company commander to take care of their interests. Interrole conflict points to incompatible expectations from two or more persons of whom the person is dependent. A soldier, for example, can be a father and a husband. These roles can be conflicting, for example when the job keeps the soldier away from home often. In addition, the soldier can be confronted with different expectations, to act as a peacekeeper, and as a warrior. Person-role conflict refers to incompatibilities between the requirements of a role and the needs, values and competencies of the person holding it. This means different people expect different types of behaviour at the same time. Roles can also be ambiguous, meaning there is uncertainty about what is expected from the person fulfilling the role. According to Katz and Kahn (1978), both role conflict and role ambiguity create low job satisfaction and high tension. Finally, role strain is the result of expectations that do not correspond to someone's role. The main causes for this mismatch can be found: (a) in the situation (or outside the individual); (b) in the interaction between the individual and his surroundings; (c) inside the individual (Dijkhuizen & Winnubst, 1983). Appearances of role strain are role conflicts, role ambiguity or role overload (id., 1983). A person experiencing role strain can feel fear, uncertainty and irritability, but also show physical reactions and stress related behaviour (smoking, absence from work). This is particularly the case when situational demands exceed a person's abilities or desires. Depending on the way a person copes with these strains and its causes,

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health problems and unproductive behaviour can occur (Op den Buijs, 2004; Kleber & Winnubst, 1983; Schok, Kleber, Elands & Weerts, 2008).
Contemporary research regarding role-combination problems is mainly related to the combination of work and care, and the consequences of this combination on an individual and at an organisational level (Bakker & Geurts, 2004; Greenhaus, Allen & Spector, 2006). Conflict between roles occurs when experiences in a role *interfere with* meeting the requirements and achieving effectiveness in the competing role. These role conflicts can indeed have negative implications on performance as well as wellbeing. Evidently, for a soldier, the role of peacekeeper can interfere with the role of the warrior. For example, when he has developed friendly relations with the local population as a peacekeeper, and subsequently has to perform a weapon search operation in the same village.

9.2 Warrior and Peacekeeper as Roles

A profound description of the warrior role is to be found on the US Army website stipulating an American soldier's qualities:

> 'American soldiers, possessed of a fierce warrior ethos and spirit, fight in close combat, dominate key assets and terrain, decisively end conflicts, control the movement of people, protect resource flows, and maintain post-conflict stability.'

Besides that, he is:

> 'flexible, adaptive, and competent and infused with the Army's Warrior Culture, fierce, disciplined, well trained, and well equipped and prepared for the stark realities of the battlefield.'

This characterisation is exactly the soldier general Schoomaker referred to in 2003 and, at the same time, can be seen as the opposite of the traditional peacekeeper.
Although peacekeeping missions started in 1948, there is still no unequivocal definition of peacekeeping. The UN recognises three basic principles: a peacekeeper is present with consent of all parties, should therefore be impartial and will only use a minimum of force (Findlay, 1996).
These descriptions indicate expectations of a soldier's attitude during a mission. However, the descriptions are contradictory. Central in the definition of both roles is either the presence or lack of a focal enemy. This means that whereas the warrior has an enemy he has to fight with force, for the peacekeeper there are, at most, opponents. His tasks, necessary to accomplish mission goals, will be assisting and helping the local population, social patrols, negotiating, and mediating, among others (Siekman, 1984). The attitude that goes with these tasks is one that is friendly, open and sociable. The warrior's attitude, on the other hand, is reserved, strict, and ready to destroy the enemy (Soldiers Creed).

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9.3 The Warrior-Peacekeeper Model

The main idea of the Warrior-Peacekeeper Model (WPM) is to portray the role strain a soldier may experience in the context of contemporary military operations. The discussion whether peacekeeper tasks are appropriate for a 'real' soldier started almost fifty years ago and was clearly named by Hammarskjöld when he stated: 'Peacekeeping is not a soldier's job, but only a soldier can do it' (Hammarskjold, Secretary-General UN, 1953-1961).

Also soldiers themselves can have mixed feelings about the peacekeeper role. It was in the sixties that the sociologist Janowitz warned that professional soldiers would resist peacekeeping, because they were likely to view these police-like activities as less prestigious and less honourable than traditional combat tasks (Franke, 2003). The topicality of this warning can be found in a 'military' reaction on police tasks that the military had to execute in Kosovo:

'The infantry and other combat units, by contrast, tend to hate it. The manoeuvre guys find it very frustrating, they get trash thrown at them and they want to hit somebody.' (Ricks, 2001, p. A21).

A British officer of the Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus supported this point of view:

'One thing makes a soldier different and better than anybody else. The thing which gives dignity which nobody else can have is respect for the man he is fighting. No civilian can ever have that. No soldier who hasn't fought can have it either. In peacekeeping the trouble is that you don't have an enemy, and this means you don't have any dignity as a soldier.' (Franke, 2003, p. 41).

Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1992) stated that a task can exceed the mission of peacekeeping forces and the expectations of peacekeepers. He suggests that utilisation of more heavily armed and more extensively trained forces should be considered. In fact, he states that one cannot expect soldiers to shift from one role to the other naturally.

According to NATO's current strategy, soldiers have to be both warriors and well-diggers and may have to be fighting and dying in a country half a world away (Ames, 2008). These soldiers will hardly ever work alone, they are members of a unit, executing tasks with comrades. The challenges and effects of this role combination are delineated in Figure 9.1.

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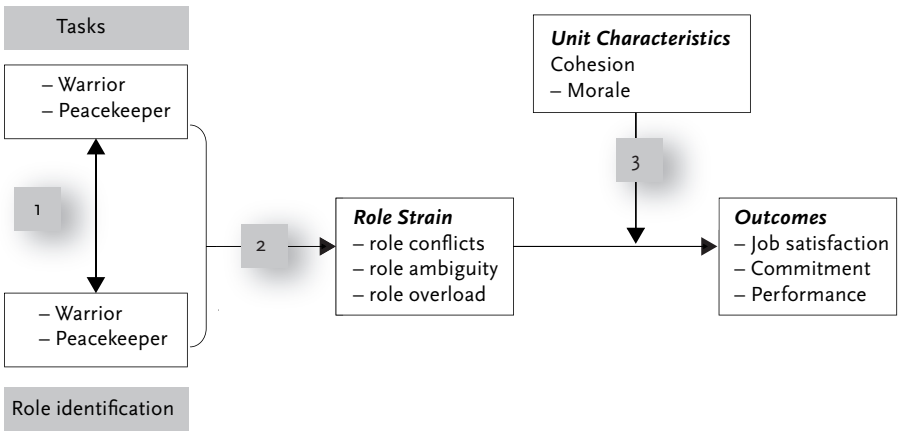
Figure 9.1 The Warrior-Peacekeeper Model



The warrior and peacekeeper role are described in the previous section. We have used this description because we expect soldiers to recognise it and identify with one or both roles.

9.4 The Confrontation

Part 1 of the WPM refers to three types of possible confrontations. First, a soldier may or may not be able to identify with both roles. Second, he may have to combine the two types of tasks – peacekeeping and warrior – and may or may not be able to perform in this combination. Finally, the first part refers to the confrontation between a soldier's role identification and the actual tasks he has to execute during deployment. They may or may not match.

Role identification refers to the attitudes and behaviour consistent with the warrior and/or peacekeeper role (Robbins, 1991). Military socialisation and group membership can cause a preference for one specific role (Goffmann, 1975). Identification is influenced by the organisation that teaches young soldiers which roles are appropriate and what kind of behaviour is expected. An example of such influence can be found in the clear opinion of a British officer, stating:

'I've been in the army a long time and I can't see a British soldier saying 'I'm proud to be a peacekeeper', but they're very proud to say 'I'm a warrior'. But if you're from a country that has focused on peacekeeping missions it has different connotations' (Broesder, forthcoming).

As said, a soldier may or may not be able to identify with both roles. For example, if we are correct in assuming that the military role shifted away from the peacekeeper role at the start of the American 'Global War on Terror', the initial military training will now lead to a preference for the warrior role. If as a consequence the

training before deployment mainly assumes worst-case scenarios, identification with the warrior role will be reinforced. A soldier who joined the army to help people will, as a result of emphasising the warrior role, experience role identification problems.

With regard to the identification with roles, not only individuals identify themselves with roles, teams develop a 'team mental model' in which they define the shared meaning of their tasks, and how to perform them. This shared mental model may be important for the match between role identification and tasks (Mathieu, Heffner, Goodwin, Salas & Cannon-Bowers, 2000).

After initial training, a soldier will be deployed and confronted with one or both kinds of *tasks* which he may or may not be able to perform in combination. The warrior and peacekeeper tasks, or parts of the tasks, can be contrary, compatible, or complementary to each other.

For example, the 'no use of force' principle of the first generation peacekeepers (Findlay, 1996) will irrevocably cause tension for a peacekeeper in a 'warrior situation' where maintaining order is only possible by using force. However, not all components of a task will relate in the same way. For instance, where the use of force other than for self-defence is contrary to the peacekeeper task, executing patrols may be compatible within the framework of both peacekeeper and warrior tasks.

The third confrontation refers to the confrontation between a soldier's role identification and the actual tasks he has to execute during deployment. A mismatch means that a soldier's identification does not correspond with the tasks. For instance, a soldier who believes that fighting tasks are the only 'true' tasks for soldiers but has to help local people by digging wells experiences a mismatch.

Evidently, some identification-task combinations resemble an obvious match or mismatch, with positive or negative consequences. Although the consequences of different combinations have not been researched yet, it is obvious that the stronger the preference for only one role, the stronger the confrontation can be when tasks are the opposite. However, both identification and tasks can be less 'black or white'. A soldier who wants to be a warrior who has to fight for peace can also identify himself with a peacekeeper who helps to build schools. Related research does show that when a soldier, mainly trained as a warrior, has to execute both tasks, he will behave as a warrior when tensions increase (Franke, 2003).

9.5 Role Strain

Role strain can be defined as the felt difficulty in fulfilling role obligations (Thomas & Biddle, 1966) and it manifests in three different ways: role conflicts, role ambiguity, and role overload. We have already noted different types of possible role conflicts. Role ambiguity has been determined as a dominant stressor in Bliese and Castro's (2003) Soldiers Adaptation Model. Parasuraman, Greenhaus & Skromme Granrose, (1992) show that the relationship between work and family role stressors and overall life stress are often the result of role overload

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(Greenhaus, et al., 2006). On the other hand, roles can give meaning and guidance to behaviour and so prevent anxiety or depression (Bakker & Geurts, 2004; Schok et al., 2008; Thoits, 1983).
Part 2 of the WPM shows role strain as a result of a mismatch between the three types of possible confrontations. Obviously, a warrior fighting in a war will not suffer from role strain. On the other hand, a warrior will suffer role strain when the deployment situation requires mainly peacekeeping tasks. Role strain can also be the result of identification with the peacekeeper role in a more 'warrior-like' situation. This role strain is expressed in a statement of a US peacekeeper in Bosnia:' I'm a tanker, that's what I do, been one for 14 years. But let me tell you, those skills are perishable. You got to use them, and all I'm doing here is checking people's driver's licenses' (Franke, 1999b).
Role strain appears in a situation in which an individual is confronted by divergent role expectations (Kleber & Winnubst, 1983; Robbins, 1991). Expectations and anticipation (Thomas & Biddle, 1966) are closely related to role strain. Op den Buijs (2004) showed the relationship between role conception, expectations and wellbeing by confirming the moderating role of expectations on the health of Dutch soldiers during deployment operations in low-risk areas. Another US peacekeeper in Bosnia said the following about false expectations:

> 'We were taught how to sneak around these tanks quietly, surprise the enemy and destroy him in combat. But here we are supposed to stay out of combat by being obvious. To me, it's like teaching a dog to walk backwards' (Franke, 1999b).

In the WPM, role strain is used as a mediator influencing the final outcomes. A mediator represents the mechanism through which the independent variables are able to influence the outcomes. This use of role strain fits our objective to describe the entire context of military operations.

9.6 The Outcomes

Role strain, i.e. role conflicts and false expectations, may have negative consequences for wellbeing and performance of individuals.
In their Job Characteristics Model, Hackman and Oldham (1976) distinguish several personal and work outcomes: internal motivation, quality of work performance, satisfaction with the work, and absenteeism and turnover. Bliese and Castro (2003) state in their Soldiers Adaptation Model [SAM], where role ambiguity is one of the stressors, that job satisfaction and commitment are typical attitudinal outcomes that may reveal more about a group than health or wellbeing. Job satisfaction and commitment are deemed highly relevant for military performance during deployment.
These outcomes can be applied to the WPM because they reflect what may happen when role strain is high. Internal motivation can be equated to commitment to the mission that soldiers are taking part in. It can be expected that high role

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strain may effect a deterioration of commitment to the mission. Soldiers may feel that the mission is not what they signed up for. Role conflicts will also reduce their motivation to do the task and thereby the quality of work performance. Soldiers may put less effort into the tasks they have to do, which will be reflected in the products and services they deliver. A soldier who, for instance, does not feel committed to the task of reconstructing schools may put less effort into delivering high quality constructions. Also job satisfaction may be influenced. Job satisfaction can be described as the global, affective evaluation of the work and work conditions (Vogelaar, 1990). Soldiers who are experiencing role strain may feel less satisfied with the work they are doing and the situation they are in. Finally, these soldiers will have a propensity to be absent from their duties and leave the organisation as soon as the opportunity arises.

9.7 Unit Characteristics as Moderators

The relationship between role strain and outcomes can be ameliorated or attenuated by several kinds of moderators. One might think of moderators at an individual and an organisational level. The importance of individual coping strategies is clearly recognised; however, in the context of the WPM we will only address the unit characteristics cohesion and morale.

Positive unit characteristics may function as a buffer against possible role strain. This moderation effect implies that high role strain has large effects on the outcomes under the condition that unit characteristics do not stimulate mutual support and cooperation, whereas the negative effects of role strain are only small or non-existent when the unit characteristics are positive.

Military work is foremost team based work and soldiers are highly dependent on each other. As Manning (1991) stated: 'the importance of group solidarity for effective military performance has been a staple of military doctrine for 2,500 years.'

The importance of the unit is well-expressed by a British officer:

'If you ask British soldiers why they do what they do, they will first of all tell you it's because of their mates. I do what I do because I don't want to let my friends down, my mates down. I don't want to let my platoon, my company, my regiment down. It has very little to do with the rights or wrongs of the conflict, it has very little to do with serving the country, and that rationale doesn't change from mission to mission. It is always the same rationale' (Broesder, forthcoming).

Group cohesion is one of the most studied variables. Several military interests are served by building cohesive units. Besides the relation with unit integrity, the effect of cohesion on both psychological wellbeing and military performance has been broadly confirmed (Manning, 1991; Griffith & Vaitkus, 1999; Shils & Janowitz, 1948; Siebold, 2005). Moreover, units with a highly shared mental model may develop ways to reconcile the differences between personal identities and bring them in line with the tasks that have to be performed. Having a shared mental model implies that team members have a good understanding

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of the goals, roles and responsibilities, time sequencing of events, tasks to be performed, how individual efforts will be coordinated, and progress towards goals (e.g. Mathieu, Heffner, Goodwin, Salas & Cannon-Bowers, 2000). In other words, highly shared mental models contribute to prevent role strain. Team cohesion contributes strongly to a shared mental model.
Another variable that has been researched thoroughly is morale. Morale has been defined as 'the enthusiasm and persistence with which a member of a group engages in the prescribed activities of that group' (Manning, 1991). Morale is closely related to unit cohesion and together they are necessary for effective performance of soldiers in combat (Britt & Dickinson, 2005; Manning, 1991). For this reason it is expected, and confirmed by research, that effects of role strain can in particular be reduced by unit characteristics like cohesion and morale (Harrison, Price & Bell, 1998; Michaels & Dixons, 1994).

Discussion and Conclusion

The role of the military has shifted significantly and certainly differs from the traditional 'warrior role' of old. Due to the new security reality, roles and tasks to restore and maintain peace and internal security are broadly reconsidered. A possible blurring between military and police, warrior and peacekeeper roles becomes apparent from General Krulak's description of the so-called three-block war' (Cocksedge, 2005):

> 'In one moment in time, our service members will be feeding and clothing displaced refugees – providing humanitarian assistance. In the next moment, they will be holding two warring tribes apart – conducting peacekeeping operations. Finally, they will be fighting a highly lethal mid-intensity battle. All on the same day, all within three city blocks. It will be what we call the three-block war.'

Obviously, the warrior and peacekeeper roles are needed and have to be combined, but are also, at least partly, contradictory. Can the warrior successively or even simultaneously be a peacekeeper and vice versa?
Scholars demonstrate tension between the warrior and peacekeeper roles (e.g. Franke, 1999a, 2003; Winslow, 1997). The military does not question the abilities of soldiers to execute both roles. We, however, began this chapter by arguing that there is a lack of knowledge concerning a soldier's abilities to switch from one role to the other and executing warrior as well as peacekeeper tasks.
By using the role theory as a starting point, we have developed a model that shows a soldier, as a member of his unit, situated in the challenging context of conflicting roles and tasks and the subsequent effects on performance. The divergence between the warrior and peacekeeper role was used to explore in what ways roles can collide. In the first place there can be an 'identification-collision', the soldier who sees himself as a warrior and did not become a soldier to be a peacekeeper. Secondly, there can be a 'task-collision'. In that case a soldier cannot combine the

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two sorts of tasks or isn't able to switch from one task to the other. An example of the third collision is the well-digging soldier who identifies himself with the warrior role. These collisions, incompatible roles or tasks that do not correspond with expectations or identification, cause role strain.

According to the role theory, appearances of role strain mainly occur when situational demands exceed a person's abilities or desires. While recognising the importance of coping strategies, the WPM shows that the negative effects of role strain can be constrained by group cohesion and morale.

Although not yet conclusive, the Warrior-Peacekeeper-Model offers a first step in building theoretical support for the premise that soldiers during contemporary missions have to deal with conflicting demands as a result of their role identification. Subsequently, the WP model is a starting point to explore possible consequences and particularly moderators at an individual, unit and organisational level, related with these role identifications. The framework may guide further empirical research, leading to recommendations about how to prevent role strain from playing an important role during missions.

It seems promising to investigate the importance of training in which the integrated execution of *all* military tasks in the age of the *Comprehensive Approach* is emphasised. Further research is necessary to analyse in more detail the importance of high unit cohesion and morale, including mutual respect for colleagues in different roles in other deployed units. Finally, the antecedents of identification with specific roles, both during recruitment, selection and socialisation and training, is a vital element in creating an army fit to embrace this comprehensive approach.

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